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251. Bench used by medicine-man — murei.
(See also kabai, No. 413, kumi, No. 415, mari, No. 242, and ɛɾɛmba, No. 243.)

Geographic Terms and Names.

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These words are generally and properly classed under "Nature," but I segregate them here because of their wider interest to travelers and cartographers. For this reason also, an approximate transcription, using only letters of the Spanish alphabet, is also given for each of these words and recommended for cartographic and similar uses. Aside from the impossibility of closely approximating the sounds ə, ü, and ö in this way, the principal question is the transcription of k and w. The use of k looks barbaric in Spanish, but the necessary forms que, qui, will generally be mispronounced by English-speaking persons, who should also be considered, and the names are barbaric after all, so that there is no serious reason why they should not appear so and I have used k. I have, however, substituted u for w, as this will usually be pronounced approximately correctly, and w will be mispronounced by all but English-speaking persons.

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a. Terms.

252. Mountain, peak, rocky height — təpüi. This is properly a suffix used in names of mountains, e.g. auyan-təpüi. Cartographic transcription:- tepúi. This is very poor as almost any other Spanish vowel is as close to ə as e is, but it is already established in general usage. -tepúi is preferred to the also widely used -tepuy. Note that such generally used forms as "Mount Auyantepui" or "Cerro Auyantepui" are redundant. It should be simply "Auyán-tepúi" or "Mount Auyan," "Cerro Auyan."

253. Mountain — wei (not a suffix).

254. Hills — wöyöpüi, a poetic word heard only in songs.

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255. Savannah, sabana — ita.i, suffix form -ta.i, e.g. Uruyen-ta.i, "The Uruyen sabana" (do not write "Uruyen-tái sabana"). Cartographic transcription: itái, -tái. Taurepán, itöi. The Taurepáns apparently use the next word more commonly in place names, where the Kamarakotos would use this one. Makuchi (Williams) e-tei.

256. Open valley bottom, extensive sabana — rəmon, (i)rəmun. Cartographic transcription: remón. Taurepán, rəmon. In Kamarakoto, a rəmon may be made up of a number of different ita.i's. Kamarata, as a whole, is a rəmon, but

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the Kamarakotos do not appear to have a word for "valley" in our sense of a drainage unit or of slopes plus a watercourse.

257. Forest — chureta. Cartographic transcription: churetá. Taurepán, tu'rita.

258. Rock (a rock or a stone) — tõ'. Cartographic transcription: tuk. (This is very poor but seems to me better than the form tek adopted by Father Baltasar for the Taurepán word.) Taurepán, tõ, tə'. Makuchi (Williams) tə'.

259. Stream, water — tuna. This means "water" in general, but it is also the word always used for a stream of water. Cartographic transcription: tuná. Taurepán, tuna. Makuchi (Williams), tu-na.

260. River, large stream — tuna-kaipun (literally "big water"). Cartographic transcription: tuná-kaipún.

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261. Ravine, "quebrada" — paru. Cartographic transcription: parú. Taurepán - paru, "river." This word is hardly in everyday use either by Kamarakotos or Taurepánes and the latter seem never to use it except as a suffix. It is, among them, an obsolete word for "river," which is preserved in the names of many rivers, Uriman-paru, etc., but the vernacular word for "river" is tuna, as in Kamarakoto. In Kamarakoto paru is not ordinarily used as a suffix in river names, e.g. the Aicha River is called simply aicha, never aicha-paru, but it does appear in a few ancient place names. Even in its secondary meaning of "ravine," paru seems to be obsolescent in Kamarakoto.

262. Lake — ikupə. Cartographic transcription: ikupá (perhaps producing a little closer to the true sound than ikupé). Taurepán, kupə. (The i- of the Kamarakoto word probably is not the possessive pronoun, or at least it seems not to be omitted even when no possessive concept is involved.)

263. Falls (of water) — bena, tuna-bena. Cartographic transcription: benâ, tuná-benâ. This is used as a suffix in names of falls, e.g. aicha-bena, "The Aicha Falls." This word does not occur in Taurepán, the next word being used both for falls and rapids.

264. Rapids, cascade — meru. Geographic transcription: merú. The Kamarakotos do not apply this word to a waterfall with a notable free fall of water. Taurepán, meru. The Taurepánes use this word both for rapids and for falls. Most of the features that have names ending in -meru in

*192 *197 ●823 193

the Taurepán country would be called bena and not meru by a Kamarakoto.

265. Mouth, confluence (of rivers) — -ken. Geographic transcription: -ken. This was recorded only as a suffix in place names, e.g. kurun-ken, "place at the mouth of a stream called kurun (vulture)." Taurepán, -ken, used in the same way.

266. Place, locality, region — -ta. Geographic transcription: -ta. This was also recorded only as a suffix, e.g. kamara-ta (strictly correct transcription of the word generally given as "Camarata" or "Kamarata"; the element kamara retains some stress on the final -a, so that kamarata is about as accurate in geographic transcription as kamaratá would be). Taurepán, -ta, used in the same way.

267. Inhabited place — mota. Geographic description: motá. This can be used as a separate word but is more often encountered as a suffix in place names, e.g. atapa-mota, (the place inhabited by the cacique of the Kamarakotos). Taurepán, -mota, observed only as a suffix but perhaps also used separately.

103 104 b. Some geographic names. The following names are tabulated here for convenience, to show the pronunciation (by the system here used), and to suggest cartographic transcriptions. They are, of course, only a small sample of the innumerable place names used by the Kamarakotos. As they are not, strictly [114] speaking, words of the language, they are not given vocabulary numbers. In order to facilitate comparisons, the words used by Tate on his map (1938) are given in a parallel column: -

103 Place names	Suggested cartographic transcriptions	Names given on Tate's maps
1. Mountains		
Aparaman-təpũi	Aparamán-tepúi	Cerro Paramán
Ser-təpũi	Ser-tepúi	Cerro Setepui
Murosipan-təpũi	Murosipán-tepúi	Cerro Murusipán
Tukũi-wokõ-kũyen-təpũi, or Tukũi-po-kuyen-təpũi	Tukúi-wokó-kuyẽn-tepúi, or Tukúi-po-kuyén-tepúi	———
Kamarkai-barai-təpũi	Kamarkái-barái-tepúi	Cerro Manacawaia

451. Green-shelled, forest form — warwoto.
452. Yellow-shelled, stream-bank form — abira.
453. Very long, green variety — maipa.
454. Maripa (Maximiliana) fruit — aba'.
455. Small, round, yellow fruit, not identified — made.

(Numbers 180, 181, 182, 183, 189, 190, 191, and 192 are also plants, listed elsewhere in connection with their uses.)

Nature, Time.

456. *Sun — be. Taurepán, wüi, wei.
457. *Moon — Kapui. Taurepán, Kapui.
458. Dawn — auyukana.
459. Day — bene (from be, "sun," but be above is apparently used also to mean "day" and the word bene, produced out of context and after long cogitation by my informant, is doubtful, it may mean "during the day").
460. *Night — warbe. Taurepán, warge. (Koch-Grünberg) wa:lupə.
461. *Cloud — katuri'. Taurepán, katu'ru'.
462. *Shy — ka'. Taurepán, ka'.
463. *Wind — iroma. Taurepán, iroma.
464. *Rain — kono'. Taurepán, kono'.
465. Earth, clay, mud — non.
466. *Precious metal, silver (or sometimes gold) — pun. I could not distinguish this word phonetically from that for "meat," nor do I find it in allied dialects practically all of which use the Spanish "plata."
467. *Gold — oro, woro'. This is the Spanish "oro," of which woro' appears to be only a particularly "Kamarakotized" pronunciation. There is a Carib root for "gold," cf. Makuchi (Williams) karu-kari, but my Kamarakoto informants always used the Spanish word.
468. *Dry season — tolongan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) wei-yayenesa? (wei = "sun"). See next word.
469. *Rainy season — ipukupə. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kono-yayenesa' (kono' = "rain"). I have been unable to find any sure cognates of the Kamarakoto words for the seasons or to trace their derivation. This one appears to be a verbal form.
470. *Today — tsiredau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) seleuale.
471. *Yesterday — koemiyau. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) koomeya'.
472. *Tomorrow — penane. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) penane.

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473. Knotted cord for measuring time — bekūi^{3} or bekwi^{3} (pronunciation apparently constant but last syllable so short that sounds were not exactly distinguished).

There are no words for month (counted by moons, if at all), year (counted by rainy seasons, if at all), or direction of the compass (expressed as toward or away from a known place or simply by pointing).

Adjectives.

*192 *197 822 [124]

a. Color. Exhaustive enquiry failed to produce more than six color words and of these those for "blue" and "green" were only obtained after long discussion and argument among several women. These women were unable to describe the color of objects shown them that were purple, orange, and brown, except by reference to the nearest color listed below.

474. *White — ametun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) aemutun.

475. *Black — (ta)rikutun. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) leikutun.

476. *Red — chayu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zhu:yu (zh intended to be like French j, but probably nearly or quite unvoiced, pronounced about like shu:yu).

477. *Yellow — chukupiyu. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) zukubiyu.

478. *Blue — irouribaru. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) rœliua (possibly = rouriwa?). Makuchi (Williams) ror-ri-wa, "green or light blue."

479. *Green — chenan. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) lo:ra (also given for "blue"). Most Caribs apparently do not distinguish green from blue and I suspect this word of being a makeshift produced to please me. The only hint of a cognate word that I have found, and this poor, is in Aparai (Coudreau cited by de Goeje) chinoucoutoume, "dark, black" in which - coutoume is cognate with - kutun, "black," and chinou remotely suggests chenan.

*192 b. Other adjectives.

480. Good, pretty — wakõ, wakõrə. "Handsome man" — wakõr warato moine.

481. Bad, ugly — alwarə.

482. Handsome, pretty — amanon.

483. Hot — ikõyin, ikõina.

484. Cold — komi^{3}.

485. Strong — merundə.

486. Weak — apaumun.

487. Sick — ene:(pe)

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LAND AND PEOPLE

Region Inhabited

361 A Kamarakoto Indian requires three things for a place of habitation: (1) An open space, a sabana of larger or smaller size, for his actual dwelling. (2) a perennial stream of water, preferably one large enough for swimming and fishing but at least one that assures a year-round water supply, and (3) a forest in the edge of which to make his farm clearings, with wild plant food, timber, and hunting as secondary considerations. For reasons mainly psychological, he very strongly prefers not to live in a forest even though his way of life requires living near one. He is a sabana Indian, not a forest Indian. This 361/103 is illustrated by the case of Juan José and his family, who formerly lived in Uruyén. A few years ago he moved a short distance to the south of there, to a place called Oruá, and built a new house in relatively open summer forest. After brief residence there he moved again, retaining his farm-patch at Orua, but building his house at Aleuiba (alewiiba) where there is a small sabana and his dwelling is out in the open.

13 These requirements have caused the concentration of Kamarakoto population around the southern, eastern, and northeastern sides of Auyán-tepúi where there are broad valleys. Their bottoms are mainly open and grassy, a succession of sabanas, and through them flow perennial streams joined by numerous tributaries with clear, healthful water and well stocked with fish. These sabanas are bounded by forests and the whole region is ideal for the Kamarakoto way of life.

133 The Indians themselves think of this region as divided into four continuous but geographically separable areas. First is Kamarata, properly speaking, 103 [823] which is the valley south of Auyán-tepúi, between it and Ennarapaimá-tepúi, 96 drained by the Aicha River and its numerous small tributaries. Directly east of this is Akanamuinta, a broad, open area southeast of Auyán-tepúi, including

96 [see footnote on p. 318, category 116 – Analyst]

539 Another peculiar omission is that in almost all other versions of the extraordinarily widespread magic bench story, this bench is provided with spines, bits of jagged rock, wasp stings, or the like (the "Stachelsitz" motive) which inflict physical pain on the user, here the Buzzard King. In the Kamarakoto [152] version the injury is emotional, not physical: he is frightened. This is clearly related to the Kamarakoto "fear of fear," mentioned elsewhere. To them the infliction of fright is at least as serious as the infliction of pain.

[177] The final episode combines a catastrophe with creation. The Kamarakotos also have legends of catastrophes by water, but these obviously contain recent intrusions or are garbled versions of legends passed on from Indians who have been in contact with missionaries, so that I believed it impossible to be 539 sure of any truly native elements and did not record them. This catastrophe ● 823 story by earthquake leading to petrification is unusual, although the element in it of belief that local rocks and hills are petrified people and animals is widespread — compare Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán "Taten des Makunaima," which gives such origins for rocks and cliffs near Roroimá.

The petrified progenitor of the Kamarakotos, who is strangely called by that name although it can only properly mean a tribe and not a person, still exists in Kamarata and we visited and photographed him (see Fig. 80).[1] He consists of a rounded outcrop of rock with a smaller, pear-shaped, weathered boulder on top. There is no real resemblance to a human figure or face. There are no drawings or carvings on the rock, no offerings, no evidence at all of a cult or other human activities, and the Indians who accompanied us showed neither awe nor respect for the rock, although solemnly agreeing that it is, indeed, the ancestor of the tribe. Questions as to origin and the name of the tribe were usually answered by reference to this legend.

539 The other motif in the final episode, that of animal origin from human 825 beings, is one of the most common elements in Indian folklore, and indeed in folklore generally. It is almost as elemental in primitive mythology as the motif, exemplified in almost every episode of this whole story, of animals that talk and act like humans. The likewise common inverse transformation, from animal to human, is seen in the episode of the Queen Buzzard. Mythology in general and that of the Kamarakotos in particular assume no basic distinction [171] between animals and man. Many Carib tribes, and I think also the Kamarakotos [65] although unable to establish the point beyond question, commonly apply animal names to people. The other frequent concomitants of such animal myths, such as animal totems and taboos, seem, however, to be entirely absent among the Kamarakotos.

539 As a final comment, the unusual role played by Piaimá in this story should 776 be noted. In other myths and in Carib thought in general, Piaimá is represented as an untrustworthy, bloody, and generally inimical being. Here he appears as a benevolent teacher. A connecting link between these anomalously contrasting

[1] [see p 2628, category 116 - Analyst]

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Fig. 80 — The Rock called Kamarakoto.
According to Kamarakoto legend this rock, toward the upper end of Kamarata, is the petrified progenitor of the tribe.

103 of the Yuruaní and that the Kukenán is a tributary. They did not appear to have the hydrography really well in mind but they did insist that the "real name" of the Karoní is Yuruaní.

103 104 64. This spelling, like Caroni, is already more or less fixed in Spanish usage and perhaps should be retained.

103 114 65. Tate gives this name to too great an area and most other cartographers have done so to still greater extent. In the usage of the Kamarakotos, which I take to be the only valid criterion for a word of their own language used to designate their own home, Kamarata applies only to the valley immediately south of Auyán-tepúi, east of the high bench where the Aicha falls, north of Enuarapaimá-tepúi, and west of a line drawn approximately from the northeastern end of the latter to the southeastern end of Auyán-tepúi. On Tate's map the word "Valley" of "Camarata Valley" is not in Kamarata but in Akanamúin-ta, extending well east of Kamarata.

103 ● 823 66. These last five names are those of immediately adjacent small patches of sabana in Central Kamarata and are given to show the fine subdivision and richness of the Indian nomenclature, which must have several hundreds of local names in this immediate region. Uruyén-tai is the sabana on which the houses of Uruyén are built. Yuruán-tai is immediately adjacent to this, across the Aichá and between that river and the Yuruaní; it is the sabana on which our camp was built. Chikoroká-tai is just up the valley from this and not really separated from it; it is the new landing field. Kumbá-tai is the old landing field (the one indicated on Tate's map), directly north of Uruyén across the Aichá. Tabá-munén-tai is the small stretch of sabana just west of the new landing field.

825 67. I remember the word as maripai?, which is likely, but do not find an actual record and so do not give the word as certain.

68. This is, of course, the origin of the scientific name of the lesser anteater, but the Indians seem to apply it principally or solely to Myrmecophaga.

825 114 69. For the Taurepanes, Father Baltasar gives "uareme' = Tamandua" and "ucino = Myrmecophaga," but this is probably a slip of the pen.

70. Williams gives also a wai-wa as a sloth distinct from kuwaran and tenupi, but because of the similarity and because there is not, in fact, any third kind of sloth, I suspect that this is the same as his woi-wa.

539 215. Her name and relationship are unknown. The various narrators agreed that Maichak had no wife at this time, having killed his human wife and abandoned his buzzard wife.

101 539 216. Each of these represents a tribe and the list is given as a roll call of tribes formerly neighbors of the Kamarakotos. Except for Kamarakoto, none of these tribes now exists as such and the names have not been identified. Re- [648] garding the Mwerwan (or Mueruán), the Kamarakotos tell of former long and peaceful association with them and of their final decimation and extinction at the time of the great Indian war.

539 [825] 217. A "guardacamino," tabaru in Kamarakoto.

[824] 218. "Tirita," manare.

[825] 219. The great anteater, warem.

[285] 220. The fact that he forthwith makes an akai?, which is definitely more complex basketwork than the press and sieve that he could not make, is one of the inconsistencies that abound in such legends and cannot be held to alter their general trend. The same is true of the fact that in this part of the story the other characters are assumed to know arts that Maichak is later shown teaching them. In part these inconsistencies can also be held to show that the various episodes were originally separate stories and that the general plot here sketched is a later integration.

221. What branch of the Arekunas is not said, except that the narrator was not Taurepán.

[103] 222. Here represented as Auyán-tepúi or a similar mountain — obviously each tribe inserts local details in all these widespread legends. It was considered generally amusing that Maichak and the party that landed on top by plane and walked off are the only persons who have climbed down Auyán-tepúi [823] without climbing up it. Incidentally the Indians never climbed this mountain until shown the way very recently by white explorers and so it figures as being negotiated only by supernatural aid.

171 266 223. That the Caribs, or some of them, were cannibals is a disputed question, as I am well aware. Apparently authoritative statements vary all the way from one that the only instance of cannibalism among these tribes was a case of white men eating Indians to one that all Caribs used human flesh as part of the usual diet. It seems, however, that the judicious reader can hardly